	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2138. Sinew-wrapped at mouthpiece	-	+	-	+				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o2139. End stopped	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	R	R	+	+	+	.	+	+	+
2140. Partially stopped inside at hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
2141. Stop of pitch	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	R	R	+	-	-	+	+	.	+
2142. Stop of salmon glue	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2143. Stop of wood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2144. Single whistle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
2145. 2 whistles bound together	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
2146. Whistle worn, suspended from string around neck	-	-	+								+	+	+	+	.	+
2147. Taboo to whistle around elderberry bush		+*	+*								+	-	+	+	-	+*
2148. Snake will strike whistler.		+	+								+	-	+	+	-	+*
2149. Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
2150. Bone	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	.	-
2151. Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+*	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
2152. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
‡2153. Number of holes	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	-	6
2154. Holes burnt in		+	+						R	R	+	+	-	+	-	+
2155. Holes put in with awl									+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
2156. Entire upper surface flattened			-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2157. End blown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	+
2158. Side blown	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	+	+	-	+
2159. Mouth blown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2160. Nose blown	-	-	+*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2161. Used by shaman	-	+*	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2162. Used for courting	-	+*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2163. Used for self-amusement	+*	-	+	+*	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Pictographs, Petroglyphs																
2164. Pictographs, petroglyphs present in area.	+*	+*	-	-	+*	-	+*	+*	+*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2165. Nonhuman origin	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	.	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2166. Made by tiny people	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2167. Made by mythological characters	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2168. Bring bad luck; charm viewer	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2169. Impress of feet, etc., on rocks	-	+*	+*							+*	-	+*	+*	-	+*	-
RECREATION																
Games																
Shinny																
2170. Shinny played	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	+	+*	+	+	+	+	-	+
2171. Men, youths play occasionally	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2172. Women play	+	+	+	+*	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
2173. Each sex plays separately	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
2174. Both sexes play together	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2175. Children play	-	+	-	+	+	+*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2176. Single ball	-	-	-	-	-	+*	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2177. Wood	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2178. Stuffed buckskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2179. Oak gall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2180. Double ball	-	+	+	+	-	+*	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
2181. Stuffed buckskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2182. 2 blocks on ends of cord	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+*	+*	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2183. 2 grass balls on end of cord	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2184. Cord or hide strip only	-	-	-	-	+	+*	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-

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[756]

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[567]

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2237. Pole through hoop scores	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2238. Pole over hoop or stick scores	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
o2239. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	–	–	–	–
o2240. Number on a side	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	–	–	–	–
†2241. Number of sides	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
2242. Sides local groups	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2243. Referee	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
2244. Betting	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
Quoits																
2245. Quoits played	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2246. Quoit a ring, from limber rope or withe	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2247. Quoit a stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2248. Target: single stake	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2249. Target, 2 stakes, at each end of the field	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
‡2250. No. of throws for each player	10	12	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	–
2251. All players throw simultaneously	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o2252. No. of points for ringer or strike	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
o2253. No. of points for closest throw	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	1	–	2	–	–	–	–
2254. Distance from pole measured with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	–	.	–	–	–	–
‡2255. No. of points for game	10	12	–	–	–	–	–	1	.	1	–	4	–	–	–	–
Spear or Dart Throwing																
2256. Spear or dart-throwing games	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
2257. Men play	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
2258. Spear thrown	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
2259. Pole thrown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2260. Arrow thrown	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2261. Stationary target	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2262. Tule or grass bundle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2263. 1 stake	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2264. 2 stakes, small	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2265. 2 targets; throw back and forth	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2266. Closest wins points	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2267. Stuck in target, or between, 2 points	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2268. Players cast in turn	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
o2269. Number on each side	2	5	–	–	3	–	–	2	–	2	–	5	–	–	–	–
†2270. Number of sides	2	2	–	–	2	–	–	2	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–
Stick Bouncing (Snow Snake)																
2271. Sticks bounced	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2272. Men play	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2273. Children play	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2274. Plain stick bounced	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2275. Bounced off rise in ground	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2276. Bounced off pile of snow	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2277. Bounced for distance	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Archery																
2278. Target games played; men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2279. Stationary target, above ground	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2280. Shoulder bone			+	–							–	–	–	+	–	–
2281. Brush bundle	–	–	–	–					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
2282. Single stake or bush	–	–	+	–				+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2283. Arrow, previously shot	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
526 2284. Small tule, willow target	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2285. Double, shoot back and forth.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	–
2286. Buried target	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2287. Bundle of tules	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2288. Buried in circle of dug ground	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2289. Buried in ground	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
2290. All contestants shoot into circle simultaneously	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2291. Contestants shoot individually	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2292. Person hitting buried target wins	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2293. Target rolled	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2294. Downhill	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2295. On level	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2296. Hoop	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2297. Disk	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2298. Target thrown in air	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2299. Pine cone											–	+	–	–	+	+
2300. Bark disk													–	–	+	+
2301. Closest wins	–	+	+								–	+	–	–	–	+
2302. Hitting target scores only	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
2303. Shooting for distance	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	.	+	+
2304. Gambling for arrows in archery games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	.	–
Ring and Pin																
524 2305. Ring-and-pin game played	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2306. Men	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
[857] 2307. Women	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2308. Children	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
‡2309. Number of rings	–	1	.	10	–	–	1	10	20	7	–	–	–	–	–	–
2310. Fish vertebrae	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2311. Deer carpals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2312. Tule bundle	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†2313. Number of pins	–	1	1	1	–	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
2314. Outfit transferred at miss	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2315. Each player has 2 tries	–	–	+		–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2316. Each ring counts 1 point	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2317. Ring counts game	–		–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2318. All rings on for game	–		–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
†2319. Number of sides	–	2	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
o2320. Number on each side	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
†2321. No teamwork; number playing	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2322. Betting on game	–		–		–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2323. Winner raps opponent's knuckles, forehead	–	+	+		–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2324. Winner pulls out opponent's eyebrows	–	+	–		–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2325. Played to make moon wane	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Many-Stick Game, 1 Marked																
[562] 2326. Many-stick game played	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2327. Men play	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2328. Women play	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o2329. Many small sticks	–	–	10	15	20	20	–	20	20	30	–	–	–	–	–	–
2330. 1 marked	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2331. 1 specially made stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2332. "Marked" stick guessed for	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	–

	K1	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
2437. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	526
2438. Children	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[542]
2439. Stick sharpened at both ends	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	•+	–	–	[857]
2440. Natural vestigial deer metapodial	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2441. 1 point when it lands erect in ground	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2442. Person who catches stick wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2443. Thrower scores	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2444. Unsuccessful thrower transfers	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†2445. Number of counters	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2446. Jacks	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2447. Men play	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[857]
2448. Women play	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2449. Children play	–	–	–	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	–	–	–	
2450. Stones	–	–	–	–	+	+	R	–	–	+	R	–	–	+	–	–	
†2451. Number of objects	–	–	–	–	10	10	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	3	–	–	
2452. Indefinite	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2453. Last object thrown up heaviest	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2454. For fun; no betting	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2455. Juggling	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2456. Rocks	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2457. Acorns	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o2458. Number thrown up	–	–	–			•2	3	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	–	–	
2459. Thrown up in both hands, same time	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	[562]
2460. Women	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	[857]
2461. Boys	–	–	–					–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
2462. For fun; no betting	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Gambling Taboos																	
2463. Intercourse taboo before gambling	+	+	+	+	–			+	+	.	.	.	–	–	–	.	525
2464. Only if man has washed in sacred spot, for luck	–	–	–	–	–			+	+	.	.	.					834
2465. Intercourse taboo after gambling													•+	–	–	.	
Amusements																	
Toys																	
2466. Tops	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	524
2467. Children play	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	.	–	[857]
2468. Adults play								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	
2469. Acorn	–	–	–	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2470. Bark or wood disk, horizontal plane	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2471. Lump of pitch	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2472. Deer kneecap	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2473. Twirl with fingers	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2474. Twirl between palms	–	+	–				+		–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	
2475. Buzzer	+	+	+	+	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	–	–	R	.	R	[857]
2476. Children play	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	R	
2477. Adults play			+					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	R	
2478. Wood or bark disk	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2479. Deer carpal	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2480. Shell disk	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2481. Acorns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.	–	
2482. Shoe-leather disk						R	–	–	R	R	R	–	–	R	.	R	
2483. To make snow	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2484. String figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	+	–	R	R	+	–	+	[887]
2485. Old men, women play	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	[562]
2486. Men play	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	
2487. Women play	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	

	Kl	Mo	SK	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
524 2488. Young people play		+	+		+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2489. Static figures	+	+	+	+	+	⁰/₊	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2490. Moving figures	⁰/₊	⁰/₊	+	⁰/₊	+	⁰/₊	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2491. Lips used	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	·	+	–	+
2492. Done in winter only	+	⁰/₊	–	–						–	–	–				
2493. Done any time, for fun	–	–	+							+	–	+	+	+	–	+
[484] 2494. Not done in fall; makes nights long	+	+	–	⁰/₊						–	–	–				
2494a. Stilts	–	⁰/₊	–	–	⁰/₊	R	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	–
Contests																
526 2495. Wrestling	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496. Men, boys	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. To throw man down	+	+	+			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2498. To judge who is strongest boy	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+
2499. No tripping allowed	–	+	–			+	–	–	–		–	+	+	–	+	–
2500. Bets laid, sometimes	+	+									+	+	–	+	+	–
2501. Fight starts, if injuries result	+	+	+								–	+	+	+	+	+
2502. Dodging	–	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–	(–)	–	+	–	+
2503. Stones	–	+	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2504. Hard objects inside geese	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2505. Sand bag	–	–	–					⁰/₊	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2506. Tule, grass balls	–	+	–					–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2507. Two sides	–	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
o2508. Number on each side	–	⁰/₊	–			1	·	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2509. Racing	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2510. Boys alone	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[857] 2511. Girls (prepuberty) alone	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Boys and girls on opposite sides	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2513. Men alone	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Women alone	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	·	+
2515. To mark and back	–	–	–			–	+	–	+	–	·	+	+	–	·	+
2516. Start at exclamation	+	+	+			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Rocks skipped across river	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	+
2518. For fun; no betting	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	+
Storytelling																
518 2519. "True" narratives told any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2520. Myths told at night	+	⁰/₊	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⁰/₊	⁰/₊	·	⁰/₊	⁰/₊	⁰/₊
[516] 2521. Auditors lie flat on back	+	+	+		+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	·		–	+
2522. Be humpbacked if sit up	⁰/₊	+	–			+		+	–	+	–	–	·		–	–
[784] 2523. Taboo to narrate myths in summer	+	+	+	⁰/₊	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	·		+	+
2524. Rattlesnake will bite	–	+	·		+	+	+	+	–	·	+	–	·		–	–
2525. Winter will come quickly	+	–	·						+	·	+	–	·		–	–
[887] 2526. Narrated by old people only	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	·	+	+	·		+	+
[515] 2527. Auditors bathe early next morning	⁰/₊	–	+			+				+	–	+	·		+	+
2528. Makes listeners "healthy"	–	+	+			+				+	–	+	·		+	+
Social Dances																
Circle Dances																
535 2529. Circle dance aboriginal dance form	R	⁰/₊	+	⁰/₊		+	+	+	+	+	–	R	–		–	–
[47] 2530. Performed in brush corral	–	–	+	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
2531. Performed in open	+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
[324] 2532. At fall rabbit hunt	–	–	–	–		–	+	–		–	–	–	–		–	–
[221] 2533. In springtime	–	–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
[226] 2534. In summer, at any celebration	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
2535. During communal fishing periods	+	+	+							+	–	–	–		–	–

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
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of the house head, whose bed is toward the front, while an old lady or two, perhaps his widowed mother, sleeps toward the back. Along the opposite wall range the sleeping mats of another family, sometimes one related to the house head. There are houses that hold more than two families and others that hold only one. The very poor together with the aged who can no longer make their way up and down the ladders must be content to shiver out the winter in mat lodges.

Many of the people of our earth lodge, and the younger women now bringing in the food which hospitality dictates be offered the visitor[11] are of powerful frame—though of no more than average height—and some tend to portliness.[12] They are scantily clad for this climate: both men and women clad in fringed fiber skirts and basketry caps, differing only in style. In the early nineteenth century, a few would be wearing buckskin clothing and footwear of the style then being communicated down the trade routes from the distant Plains across the Rockies and down the Columbia. Those preparing to brave the weather outside add tule leggings, woven tule sandals stuffed with dry grass, a mantle of skin or fiber, and fur mittens. Their hair is dressed in braids, that of the men wrapped in the new fashion with strips of otter fur. Both sexes wear necklaces of shells or stone beads, ear pendants, and a dentalium shell thrust through the septum of the nose. Many have a flattened brow, cultivated in infancy upon the cradleboard; and several have designs on the face, limbs, and body tattooed according to no particular pattern by rubbing charcoal into incisions or punctuations. The latter practice, says Ray, was a recent importation from the Shasta and Pit River neighbors of the Modoc.

Morning in the winter village comes early for the older boys. Before sunup they are prodded out of bed by a father or grandfather and sent for a roll in the snow, a plunge in the frigid black waters of the stream, and a run upon its banks. By the time the sun climbs above the snow-laden trees, women have begun to stir, arranging their hair, raking up the fire, lifting a baby on its cradleboard to nurse. In the cooking lodge, others are heating the stones that, dropped into a basket of mush, will soon cause it to boil. The watertight cooking baskets are treasured, for they have come in trade or as loot from peoples to the south. Families

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eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred places.

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets. If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon. Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat-houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample,

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An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of these positions.

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nicknamed by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly recollected:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . .
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children

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a weak differentiation of parental roles and the extension of surrogacy to grandparents or other kinsmen. In many instances, the father was either absent or aloof, and the chief burden of child rearing fell upon the mother, who might shift it for several hours or longer upon the slender shoulders of an older child. Among such families, parents often proved unpredictable, their excesses of affection and indulgence alternating with fits of anger, depression, and withdrawal. Rather than being consistently directed toward a program of training, parental behavior tended to be a response to a mood or an isolated element in the immediate situation. Even the admonitions of the elders, the traditional set speeches enjoining ideal behavior, frequently were made without reference to the immediate conduct of the child.

In children, this experience tended to generate a defensive isolation, a dependent craving which anticipated rebuff, and a marked hypersensitivity toward others concealed beneath an outward manner of stoic indifference. One probable outcome of childhood exposure such as this was the "guarded restraint" which Clifton discerns as a marked characteristic of Klamath personality, an attribute which, it appears, lessens in severity only in old age.[3]

If there were few fixed and dependable social relationships in many Klamath families, there likewise was little predictability in daily routine. As Pierce notes, meals were rarely served at fixed times or attended by the entire family. Instead, individuals ate when hungry. Children rarely had regular chores or bedtime.[4]

It was in the training of children to become functioning members of society that the tribal families faced a central test of their effectiveness. Although it was not clear to what segment of that society the children were to aspire, their elders were in agreement in wishing well for them. Tribal orators, challenged upon their personal aims, could disavow self-interest and strike a resonant chord by asserting that they were acting only for the good of their grandchildren. Adults, however dissatisfied they might be with their own achievement, might still hope to see a transcendent future for their sons and daughters. In the school, with its promise of equal opportunity to advance through merit, American society held out the means to implement that hope.

All too frequently, however, childhood experience in the

[p. 342A]

867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the child acquires certain attitudes toward his relatives, although patterns of behavior toward particular kin do not seem to be very clearly [593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re- [603] spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to [604] be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts are shown considerable respect. Cousins call [605] each other by sibling terms; those of opposite sex play together freely when small but are told that it is not proper to "play rough" with each other. Even small children learn that marriage between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that children from such an incestuous union will never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

[text continues on top of p. 342-B]

EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 By the time a child is three he begins to play with other children, parents encouraging group play. Children from all social strata play together. "After all, you can't keep kids apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no [848] different from the rest. Illegitimate children are looked down upon by the community as a whole, but they are not segregated from their age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

[text continues on bottom of p. 342-B]

[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

[p. 342-B]

553 coins it, and soon all are using it.

Personal names are freely used at all times, but within the family kinship terms are more commonly applied. There are also age status terms for direct address or in reference to an individual as "newborn baby," "infant," "child," "youth," and so forth.[10]

855 757 Throughout infancy the health of the child is a matter of considerable concern. Whenever he cries and cannot be pacified by feeding, the parents fear that he is ill. For certain obvious physical ailments there is a variety of simple home remedies known to most adults. For stomachaches, warm ashes are held over the abdomen, and sagebrush tea may be administered orally. For a fever, sagebrush bark is mashed, mixed with warm water, and rubbed on the child to produce sweating. Deer grease is applied to burns. Pine pitch is rubbed on chapped faces and is also used to heal sore eyes. These and similar remedies serve for both children and adults.[11]

75 Ailments not so readily diagnosed require the services of a shaman, who then demands a large fee. Shamans are believed to send diseases to individuals, particularly through the medium of bad dreams. A child's nightmares are, therefore, taken as an indication that some shaman is trying to sicken the child. A curing ceremony must then be held either by the suspected shaman or another of equal power. [841] Some women try to prevent children's nightmares by placing a cloth or piece of fur stained with menstrual discharge under the sleeping child. Shamans fear the contamination of a menstruating woman and are unable to use their powers in the presence of one.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

• 857 simple amusements for themselves. They erect piles of dirt, mark in the sand with sticks, or [865] make neat rows of sticks on the ground. Older children are punished if they try to bother the youngsters at play.

[864] Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at "man and wife" in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged.

Small children also enjoy pretending to be very old people. In this game they hobble around on canes. One old lady of eighty laughed as she recalled playing in this manner:

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[10] Spier, pp. 61-68.

[11] Therapeutic knowledge and beliefs of the Klamath are mentioned in Voegelin, elements 4469-4511.

[114]

(ca. 1875)

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857 My friends all tease me because I always wanted to play I was an old woman. They ask me how I like it now. But we kids all thought it was great to be old. I used to get a cane and limp around. I wanted the others to pretend they were burning [cauterizing] my leg.[32]

524 857 Even in early childhood there is great emphasis on competitive sports. Parents brag about a child who is better at any activity than his age-mates. Children soon acquire a keen desire to best their playmates in games and thus gain approval and prestige.

Small children from four to six years old have simple contests of endurance.[33] In one, each player holds his breath and runs as far as he can before having to take another breath. The one who runs the farthest wins. Another race is run on one leg, with the other leg held out in front; the contestants see who can hop the longest without having to put his leg down. Little girls have a contest in which they squat down with their arms wrapped under or around their knees to see who can jump up and down for the longest time. Both boys and girls have hair-pulling contests to see who can keep from crying with pain. All such contests are accompanied by shouting and shrill cries; apparently, the more noise the better. Adults watch the contests when they have time and encourage their favorites.

One of the most important activities in which young girls engage is playing with dolls.[34] Through their use the girl is encouraged in many of her future activities of housekeeping. A few boys like to play with dolls too, but they are teased about this girlish activity and soon cease. It is the girl's mother or grandmother who first shows her how to make dolls and play with them. They are fashioned from any available material; wood, bark, tules, and clay are all utilized. In lieu of anything better they may even be outlined in the sand. Once the technique has been learned, the girls manufacture their own dolls and play with them alone or in groups. They make little shelters of willow for the dolls, pretend to dig up roots for them, and in every way treat them as actual children. Often the dolls are placed on a piece of bark to represent the cradleboard. Apparently much of this play is spontaneous on the part of the girls, but there is also considerable suggestion and encouragement on the part of mother and grandmother.

While little girls are beginning to play in this way, boys of the same age become interested in the use of the bow and arrow. At first they

[757]

[32] Cautery with sagebrush pellets that are burned over the afflicted part is a common cure for rheumatism from which many elderly Klamath suffer.

[33] Several children's contests are mentioned in Spier, p. 86.

[34] Dolls are described briefly by Spier, ibid.

524 play with a tiny bow of willow, little more than
• 857 a toy, which they learn to make from an older boy or from their father. But by the time a boy is six or seven his father presents him with a real bow made from juniper. It is smaller than the large yew war and hunting bows of the men, and the arrows are blunt. The boys practice shooting at targets around the camp. They will not begin to do any hunting for several years, but groups of boys imitate the shooting contests of their elders. These will be described in more detail in a later section since it is older boys who spend the most time in these pursuits.

868 Another favorite activity of all Klamath children is swimming. Very young children are not allowed near the water, but by five or six
857 years of age the child is paddling around in shallow water under the watchful eye of parents
481 or of older children who help the younger ones to learn. The teacher holds the child around the waist and tells him to splash with his arms and legs. In other instances the child learns by himself or by verbal instructions. One informant related the following incident:

> I thought I was swimming when I had my feet on the bottom. Someone laughed at me and said that wasn't swimming. He told me to kick my feet, too.

524 Several games are played in the water. The
857 children race to see who will be the first to get into the water. Then, teams of four or five line up opposite each other and splash until one side gives up. There are also diving contests to see who can go the farthest underwater before coming to the surface.

In addition to the active outdoor play of children, which is possible only in the summer months, there are games and amusements which can be played indoors at any time.[35] Many of these are enjoyed equally by adults and by children.

Individuals of both sexes and all ages enjoy top spinning. Adults show the children how to set the tops in motion by twirling the stem between their palms, but then the children play by themselves. The children also learn from adults or older children how to make their own tops of bark, wood, or pine pitch. The best ones, according to informants, are from hardened pitch.

> We used to go out and get pine gum and chew it all up. Then we made it flat and round with our hands and got some boys to fix the hole in the middle for the stick. You have to put the gum in cold water till it gets hard. They lasted pretty good unless we dropped them or left them out in the sun.

221 During the winter there is little economic activity, and families spend most of the time in

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[35] Klamath games and amusements are described in detail by Dorsey (1901), pp. 14-27, Spier, pp. 76-86, and Voegelin, elements 2170-2528.

[p.344A]

(ca. 1875)

221 the warmth of the winter dwelling. There are
[592] usually two or three related families sharing a
[517] single winter house; and evenings are spent in
playing games, telling stories, or gossiping, as
well as in making baskets and manufacturing fish
[857] nets. Small children are not allowed outdoors
in the cold, but older ones go out some days to
slide on the ice or downhill on pieces of bark.

[524] Cat's cradle is a popular pastime engaged in by both adults and children in the winter. The number of possible figures is great. Coyote, Skunk, Bear, Bullfrog's Tail, Owl's Eyes, Sunrise, Boy Running, and Man Chasing a Rabbit are but a few of the many that most individuals can make. Children learn how to make the figures from adults or from older children. However, if the children play at cat's cradle very often, the string is taken away with the comment, "You'll stretch the months if you do that so much." There is apparently no such restriction on adults.

In one version of string figures an adult fixes a loop in the string. A child is told to put his finger through the loop, which is then pulled tight around the finger; and he must tell his name before he can be released.

538 Every night throughout the winter months
[221] myths are told. They are never told in the summer or daytime lest the narrator age quickly. Most myths serve for amusement, not being regarded as especially sacred. Stories about Creator are taken somewhat more seriously than others. "You have to keep quiet and listen to them." It is from the Creator myths that children first learn about sacred beings.

There are many stories explaining the origin of local geographic features. Most of the myths have personified animal characters. There are a few tales that offer advice to the children. After stories about hunting or gathering, the teller may turn to the children and say, "If you want to be a good man (or woman), do like that."

In contrast to many other tribes there is very little formality connected with the telling of myths among the Klamath. In the evening an old man or woman starts to tell stories, and others gather around. Young adults never tell them because a storyteller begins to age rapidly.

The children lie down to listen; they may request their favorites and are free to complain that the narrator is not telling the story right, if they do not like his particular version. A few old people are recognized as the best raconteurs.

Adults also listen to the stories and make requests. Certain characters are especially liked; and children often ask for tales about Little Weasel, Chipmunk, Coyote, and Skunk. Skunk is funny because he thinks himself very clever, but all his undertakings are fiascos. After a Skunk story, children are warned, "Don't be like that." A few stories, such as those about Owl, are told to frighten children into behaving. As the evening wears on, the children fall asleep one by one. Indeed, one of the main

858 765 Children have little knowledge of death, but they observe certain mourning taboos on the decease of a parent. The restrictions on children are not as many or as strict as those for adults.[39] Children have their hair cut and pitch put on their faces for a year in observance of mourning. The child is told to play alone for awhile and not laugh or sing. That these regulations are sometimes onerous is indicated by the statement of an informant whose father died when she was about seven.

> I had my hair cut short. I used to wear pretty beads and little rattles in my pigtails, but I couldn't when my hair was short. When it grew out a little, I got my girl friend to braid it for me and put a rattle in it. My mother caught me and was awfully angry. I knew I was doing something wrong, but I just wanted to have fun.

Children do not end the mourning period with a purificatory sweatbath such as adults take. In fact, children are not allowed near the three mourners' sweat-lodges which are surrounded with spirits that are dangerous to young people. A child who disobeys and plays near the lodges will lose his wife or first child when he grows up.

821 869 Through the period of early childhood the individual gradually acquires a knowledge of objects beyond his immediate home environment. There is an effort on the part of many parents and grandparents to instruct the children, who are sometimes taken out at night to see the moon, stars, and planets. They are told that the Milky Way is a river that divides the sky, the Pleiades are children, and the stars of the Big Dipper are brothers. There are names for, and stories about, many constellations. Mothers take their children out to talk to the moon at each new moon. The mother instructs the children to be quiet and listen as she repeats a prayer which varies in length and content according to individual desires and feelings.

Many natural phenomena are considered dangerous, and young children learn to fear such features as thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. They are warned to run home and hide during an electrical storm and never to point at the rainbow lest the finger drop off.

• 857 Toward the end of his early childhood the individual begins to assume real responsibilities within his family. Till the age of six or seven the child is free to run and play much as he pleases, so long as he obeys instructions not to fight and not to wander away from camp. He has taken no part in the work of his elders. But now he begins to help with a few simple chores.

The first tasks a child performs may be little more than occasionally bringing home a few pieces of firewood or getting a bucket of

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[39] Adult death and mourning customs are described in Spier, pp. 71-76, and Voegelin, elements 4019-4415.

[p. 346A] (ca. 1875)

857 water. Such duties ordinarily devolve upon the women, but young boys as well as girls help their mothers.

Children accompany their mother as she collects large bundles of wood, which she carries on her back. The youngsters pick up smaller pieces to carry in their arms. The mother may be the one to ask the child to help. As often, however, help seems to be voluntary.

I saw my mother getting a load of wood so I picked some up in my hands. She was proud of me because I was helping.

[text continues on top of p. 346B]

LATE CHILDHOOD

857 562 The duties and responsibilities of a child increase greatly as he reaches the age of eight or nine. He still engages in many of the games and amusements of childhood, but he is expected to take on more and more adult activities. Training which has heretofore been largely casual and noncompulsory now takes on more serious aspects. Girls begin to take up feminine pursuits while boys learn masculine occupations.

857 If there are younger children in the family, the nine- and ten-year-olds may be called on to watch them and, if neglectful, the older ones are reprimanded. On the whole, however, the children accept the responsibility willingly, look after the youngsters around camp, teach them, and occasionally take them along on short jaunts away from the immediate campsite. Parents tell the youngsters to obey their older brothers and sisters.

861 Physical training is emphasized in late childhood. The strong, fearless warrior is one of the Klamath ideals of manhood. Women, too, are expected to be strong and brave. Training toward this goal actually begins when cold water is sprinkled on infants daily to inure them to hardships. Somewhat larger infants are held in the cold water of the lake or river to harden them to physical discomforts.

The father or grandfather forces older children to rise before sunrise each day, winter and summer, for a plunge into cold water and to run and exercise. The morning swim is more strictly enforced for boys; but girls also rise early, and many of them swim each morning. A few families start training a child in this manner at the age of five. Most start somewhat later, and some families are never strict in the matter, but such households have little standing in the community.

A boy of ten or twelve who whimpers when made to run to the lake in the morning is considered a weakling. If a child pretends to be asleep when called, he is whipped and thrown into the water by his father. The bravest boys never cry and are proud of being able to roll in the snow in the winter without calling out. Parents boast of a brave boy. But if he is lazy, they are ashamed and hope the neighbors will not hear of their disgrace. Only individuals who arise early throughout their lives to

[text continues on bottom of p. 346B]

[p.346B] (ca.1875)

857 Older children use a carrying strap when they go after wood. The strap is laid on the ground and sticks are piled on it. One boy sits down and fastens the strap across his forehead or chest. A companion then helps him get to his feet with the load.

Women carry water in baskets to the camp. The children sometimes race to see who can get the water first. When the child brings a basket of water to the house, his mother or father throws a few drops into the air, saying, "You'll grow as tall as that."

LATE CHILDHOOD

861 run and swim will be lucky and successful. Children are constantly exhorted to run and exercise in order to become "smart."

857 526 The older boys have a variety of contests to show their strength; these are in imitation of the competitions in which grown men take part.[22] They lift heavy rocks to see who can carry them farthest. They try to bend large saplings to the ground. They wrestle from a starting position in which the opponents face each other with hands on each other's waists. The whole group gathers to watch the contests and cheer the favorites.

Foot races are popular among boys and girls as well as adults. The races are run principally on summer or fall afternoons when large groups are gathered on Klamath Marsh to gather wokas (water-lily seeds). Fast runners gain a great deal of prestige, so that all children aspire to be such. Children are spectators at the adult matches; then they organize their own. The adults are as eager to watch children's races as they are to observe their own. The best runners are cheered, and small bets are often placed.

In addition to contests of strength and foot races, there are fast shinny games which require good runners with endurance.[23] Both the men's game and the double-ball variety played by the women are occasions for much excitement. There is much rivalry between teams, and children are not permitted to participate in the most important contests. They do organize their own shinny games, however, and may play with adults in the more trivial contests.

At this same age boys begin to take part in organized shooting matches with bow and arrow or darts. The boy is taught by his father or grandfather to shoot with a small juniper bow. The boys' games are similar to those played by the men,[24] but boys are not required to shoot so

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[22] See Spier, pp. 82 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2509-2516.

[23] Shinny games are described by Dorsey, pp. 19 ff., Spier, pp. 80 ff., and Voegelin, elements 2170-2203.

[24] Arrow and dart games are described in Dorsey, pp. 17 f., Spier, pp. 81 f., and Voegelin, elements 2250-2270, 2278-2304.

(ca. 1875)

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857 far. Some contests utilize a stationary target.
526 In others, arrows and darts are shot at a rolling ring. The rings used by boys are smaller than the men's.

868 Boys soon learn to make their own willow darts for the games, are proud of them, and often decorate them by wrapping green tules
[531] around them in designs. The darts are then blackened in the fire and the tules unwrapped, leaving white markings where the tules had been. Such negative pyrographic patterns are common on canoe poles and paddles. Girls similarly decorate sticks "just for fun"; they do not enter into the dart contests. The boys do not learn to make their own bows and arrows until puberty or after.

Training in the techniques of fishing, gathering, hunting, and various manufactures be-
[262] gins in late childhood. The principal food of the Klamath is fish, but vegetable products and
221 game are also used. The spring, summer, and fall months are spent in travel for the seasonal food supply. Early spring sees a move to fishing grounds along the river. In the summer, families move to the prairies for roots and berries. Some go to the mountains to hunt. In August and September families congregate to gather the wild water-lily seed along the marshes. In the fall there are hunts, and all return to the winter villages where they will remain through the coldest months of the year.[23]

226 The first sucker run in the spring is of
868 special significance and attended by ritual and taboo.[24] Small children are warned to stay away from the river, lest they get sick. The first catch is divided among all; the entrails are carefully gathered up and thrown back into the river to insure the continued abundance of fish. It is the children who are sent with the entrails to the proper spot on the river. While
[251] the men continue fishing, the women clean and dry the fish for winter storage. Girls of eight or nine help their mothers by collecting willow branches and arranging the fish on them to dry.

After the first run, the restrictions are relaxed. Children are then allowed to gather along the banks and watch, so long as they do not bother the men. Boys help by dipping fish out of the water by hand and by scaring fish toward the nets; but they do not work with the nets, which take at least two full-grown men to handle.

868 Spears are also used for taking fish. Boys
226 of ten or older are taken out by their fathers into shallow water to learn how to watch for the air bubbles that indicate the presence of fish. The father shows the boy how to impale the victim on a many-pointed spear and finally lift it from the water with a single-pointed gaff. For

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[23] Spier, pp. 10 f.

[24] Varieties of fish caught, fishing techniques, and customs connected with fishing are treated in Barrett (1910), pp. 249-251, Spier, pp. 147-155, and Voegelin, elements 190-300.

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(ca. 1875)

226 868 large fish, there is a harpoon with two detachable heads; the boy learns its use after he has mastered the other speare. Fish are often speared at night by torchlight. Here again it is the father who instructs the boy.

[227] Fish are also taken in a triangular dip net used from the bow of a canoe. This net is large and cumbersome, so that only a strong adult is able to manipulate it when full of fish. Younger fellows of ten or so help by beating their canoe paddles against the side of the boat to scare the fish toward the net. If they are in shallow water near the shore, the paddles are slapped against the tules. Often, a boy paddles the canoe while his father handles the net in the bow.

Line fishing is not of great importance, but this method is sometimes used and is often the first method a boy learns (usually by himself or from older boys); it is also the only one at which women occasionally help. There are at least two varieties of bone hook which are attached to a nettle-fiber line. Boys catch crawfish in their hands to use as bait.

227 887 The manufacture of nets is an important winter occupation of the old men and a few old women. Both men and women twist the nettle fiber into twine. Children like to watch the net making because they enjoy listening to the old people gossip or argue about how many months remain before the spring fish run. However, the children never help with this process. A fully grown man learns to manufacture nets from the old men. The manufacture of fish spears and harpoons is also left to mature men.

501 868 Before taking part in certain types of fishing, boys must know how to handle the canoes. This same ability is required for girls before they can go after water-lily seeds. Most families have two or more dugout canoes of varying lengths, which can be propelled by either pole or paddle.[85]

[857] Riding in canoes is not a new experience to the child, for infants on cradleboards are taken out in them. Older children often go out with their mother or father and sit or stand in one end of the canoe. The boat is apt to be unstable, and the child is warned not to tip it by moving around.

Parents need not urge children to learn how to handle a canoe, for they are all eager to do so. As one man put it, "Nowadays every kid wants to have a car. It used to be like that with canoes." Indeed, children sometimes "borrowed" canoes when no adults were present.

> The women were all out getting wokas so another girl and I took my aunt's extra canoe. I didn't know how to work the pole. I held onto the end of it and kept pushing till I almost fell over the edge of the canoe. Some people came by in another canoe

[85] See Coville (1897), p. 89; Idee (1904), p. 728; Barrett, pp. 247 f.; Spier, pp. 169-171; and Voegelin, elements 858-893.

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224 868 not all men are good hunters.[20] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

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CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

854 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

857 867 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

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[20] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 346 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

Nell: Female, Age 33

Background Data

In contrast to Sparrow, much of Nell's behavior is disparaged and negatively sanctioned by the community, while she too must be located at the lower end of the status hierarchy. Nell got her first job when she was 18, and for the last five years she has been working steadily as a clerk in the Agency. She is a high school graduate and has 2½ years of business school training. Except for being away at school and a short period of residence with one of her husbands in Oklahoma, she has lived all of her life on the reservation.

Nell was raised by her own parents on their ranch and is the second eldest of nine children. Her earliest memories are of being fearful of domestic animals and of preferring to be by herself, playing with her dolls. She seldom played with her siblings or with other children, and her interest in dolls and making and dressing paper dolls continued through her first marriage in her early twenties. She felt that her mother always blamed her or the other girls for everything, while her father favored his daughters. All of the children were sent away to boarding school, and most of their childhood was spent away from home. By the age of 12, when home, Nell was busy with housework, cooking, baking, and caring for her younger siblings. In this large nuclear family there was an extensive division of labor, with each assigned his or her specific tasks. Her parents never left their children with "sitters" or relatives. Their "caretaking" activities are, perhaps, among the most consistent and extensive in the area, with the exception of the boarding school. Nell received little direct instruction from her mother, and her closest adult woman companion was her grandmother. Nell knows none of the Klamath language. Both her mother and her father were disturbed because Nell always wanted to be off by herself. When she was in boarding school her parents visited her once or twice yearly, but they never wrote her. Nell preferred her father, and when she grew up she felt that her mother was not the kind of person she had thought she was. Nell feels that this may be due to her own behavior. She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was at 8, when she was molested by a cousin.

Nell has always preferred to play with boys rather than with girls. Today she is socially isolated at her office, where none of the other women speak to her. She is equally isolated from her family, who rejected her and threw her out of their house when she was 20, at which time she was pregnant by her first husband, who had deserted her when he discovered her pregnancy. She has been married and divorced three times and has maintained a regular liaison with at least five other men. She will go directly from one such liaison to another, with never more than a few days between men, and on several occasions some overlap. Occasionally one of her ex-husbands or ex-lovers returns to live with her and attempts to take up with her again. She has borne eight children, has had two miscarriages, and at least one abortion. She cannot tolerate not having a man in the house (it is her house maintained at her expense). Several of her children are technically illegitimate and the paternity of at least one is in doubt. It is this sexual laxity which particularly brings down the ire of the community upon her.

Nell thinks of herself as an unfriendly person who would rather be left alone, particularly by other women. She always waits until someone else makes the first advance. It was therefore surprising to have her show up one day and request testing and advice. She was in trouble and she was convinced something was wrong with her. The "presenting problem" was an unbearable load of shame, guilt,

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 [156] [184] [871] [586] [842] [597] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times. Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one, an adolescent boy, since birth.

[154] Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and [874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress. [759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with [859] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years *159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted 156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she 177 had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity 184 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them [791] her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per- [608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an advisor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns *159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered 156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to [273] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my [353] glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income, spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her [571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites, for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care